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Abstract: *»Mehr als München 1972. Medien, Emotionen und Körper in der Übertragung der XX. Olympischen Sommerspiele«.* The Olympic Games in Munich in 1972 are regarded as the turning point for TV broadcast in Olympic history. The architecture, ceremonial character and the course of the sports competitions were adapted intensely to the needs of the visual medium. This article focuses on television coverage at the 1972 Olympic Games in Munich. The goal is to discuss how the medial array of technology changed the event and its perception. Using the example of the ABC television recordings of the marathon race, it is shown how the body was increasingly used by TV broadcasting stations as an argument and as legitimation to experience sports via mass media. At the same time, this visual presence of the athlete's body also opened a wider horizon for interpretation. Emotions, performance pressure, and failure were important references in the interpretation of the sports hero and thus also changed the perception of sport itself.

Keywords: Munich 1972, Marathon, Olympic Games, Television, Frank Shorter.

1. Introduction

In turn, you [the viewers] are offered a sight, which is not even granted to the paying spectators in Munich's Olympic Stadium. The nervous finger twitching before the run-up, the relief of the muscles during the jump, the tormented face at the misstep – the paying witness under the acrylic roof hardly notices it or does not see it at all. But the viewer at home, perhaps in Canberra, 25 flight hours away, sees everything at the same moment almost as detailed and sharp, as if he were standing right next to the athlete. And often even more: underwater cameras show him almost first handedly the underwater turning of the swimmers, whereas the present spectators in the swimming stadium will only see some splashing at this moment. How the strongest differ from the strong and the fastest from the fast, will remain unknown to the audience in the

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Historical Social Research 43 (2018) 2, 181-202 | published by GESIS
DOI: 10.12759/hsr.43.2018.2.181-202

stands at many competitions until the results are proclaimed by the announcer. [...] the 'hero becomes visible.' (Der Spiegel 1972, 25)[1]

This quote is from the cover story "Olympia – the total television" from the German newsmagazine *Der Spiegel* of August 1972. It reveals two things about the relationship between sports' experience and television broadcasting: First, the fascination, which the athlete's bodies, their facial expressions, and bodily movement, provokes within sports spectators. And secondly, that this fascination was used for medial legitimation. After the Second World War, the Olympic Games became especially for television an international "test field for new technological developments" (Steinbrecher 2009, 172). As Christina Bartz put it based on Marshall McLuhan: "Sport only shows the television" (Bartz 2003, 36). In this regard, the body became almost an argument not to watch sports inside the stadium, but rather at home in front of the television. Because the "nervous finger twitching" and "tormented face" had, like the *Spiegel* aptly detected, been hardly observable from the stadium ranks so far. This level of perception – made possible by zoom, cuts, slow motion, and camera operation – was instead promised by television. With this, the visual medium television did not least try to compensate for what constitutes the stadium visit: the live atmosphere. Therefore it promised to offer the viewer an obvious "more" of the event through the viewing experience, a "More than Munich 1972," so to speak.

In the history of sports television and explicitly in the history of televising the Olympic Games, Munich 1972 holds a special position. The 20th Olympics are described in the scholarship as completing a "historical phase," "in which the relationship between television and Olympics was defined" (Schwirkmann 2008, 26). Here, the sale of television rights exceeded for the first time the sale of stadium tickets. According to an Emnid poll, which was commissioned by the Press and Information Office in 1972, only 7% of Germans intended to come to Munich to see the Olympics. 79% wanted to watch the games on television.[2] Thus, a significant shift in the level of perception of sports took place.

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[1] "Dafür bietet sich ihnen [den Fernsehzuschauern] ein Anblick, wie er nicht einmal dem zahlenden Zuschauer im Münchner Olympia-Stadion vergönnt ist. Das nervöse Fingerspiel vorm Anlauf, das Relief der Muskeln im Sprung, das schmerzverzerrte Gesicht beim Fehltritt, der zahlende Augenzeuge unterm Acryldach nimmt es kaum oder gar nicht wahr. Der Zuschauer zu Hause aber, vielleicht in Canberra, 25 Flugstunden entfernt, sieht im selben Augenblick alles fast so detailliert und gestochen scharf, als stünde er neben dem Athleten. Und oft noch mehr: Unterwasserkameras etwa zeigen ihm schier hautnah die Unterwasserwende der Wettschwimmer, der leibhaftig anwesende Zuschauer im Schwimmstadion dagegen wird in diesem Augenblick nur Geplätscher sehen. Wie sich die Stärksten von den Starken und die Schnellsten von den Schnellen unterscheiden, bleibt dem Publikum auf der Tribüne bei manchen Wettbewerben sogar verschlossen bis der Stadionsprecher das Ergebnis verkündet. [...] der 'Held wird sichtbar'."

[2] The remaining 14% had not yet decided. The survey was conducted in the period between February 17 and March 2, 1972: Zusammenfassung, Auftrag des BPA, Emnid, 12.04.1972, in: BArch Koblenz, B 145/9883.

This transition was caused by two developments, which were also mutually dependent: firstly, in the "age of scarce channels" (Hodenberg 2012, 40), television became the new leading medium in sports reception. The act of sport offered spectators an extended possibility for reception especially because of the visuality and the live character and in contrast to the print media and the radio. Secondly, sociological studies about the audience have shown that the media recipient of the 1970s consciously decided against a live atmosphere and for the media reception on the domestic screen – naturally also due to the first development (Nestmann 1980, 53, 79; Schnor 2000, 8). The already mentioned technical innovations, which allowed a close inspection, but also quite practical reasons such as journey, costs, etc. are supposed to have played a considerable role in this transition. Symptomatically, the *Spiegel* called the Munich Games, in the already cited cover story, the "longest show in television history for the largest audience that ever existed" (Der Spiegel 1972, 24).

However, historical research has devoted itself to this interrelationship between sports and the media only occasionally. In the last decades, the field of "media sports" has been dominated by sports, media and communication scholars (Stauff 2009). However, the combination of the two phenomena opens up high potential for insights – also for contemporary history. Thus, in 2009 Wolfram Pyta called for "the unique career of sports to be linked more systematically than before to the rise and the internal differentiation of the media" (Pyta 2009, 13). When historical research deals with mass media in sports, so far it has concentrated mostly on press reporting (Bösch et al. 2012). Only few studies elaborate on the specifics of the visual in sports (Novan 2013; Body Politics 2014/2), even though the visualization of sports through film, photography, and television is essential for its social perception. If one takes this perspective, the concentration on the athlete's bodies seems to be especially promising. The modes of representation do not only offer clues about social ideal conceptions of the body. The visuality of the athlete's body also offers a range of interpretive patterns and interpretations, which can provide insightful questions for contemporary history. Which social ideas of achievement can be detected through the body pictures and which social struggles can be discerned? What were time-specific visibility rules? Which major social debates did the images shown in sport prompt?

Even beyond such interpretation and discourses, sport offers an interesting review perspective for historical research. Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht has often referred to the "presence culture" in sport, a kind of momentary character, and thereby placed the physicality of the athletes at the center of his reflections (Gumbrecht 2012, 2014). Particularly in his work "In Praise of Athletic Beauty," he emphasizes that the body may not be regarded solely as an object of

Nevertheless, there apparently was a fight for tickets, which prompted the media to give tips on how to get tickets: *Der Stern*.1971. Wettlauf um die Olympiakarten, March 14, 179.

those ascription, as a function for or expression of social ideas (Gumbrecht 2006, 26-7, 136-7). In his view, the body was not only a subject, but rather the body's presence and the associated performance must be regarded as a separate object. Gumbrecht is explicitly interested in the perceptions of the body, which he approaches as an interplay of aesthetics, atmosphere, and aura. He asks about the experience, the intensity, and the speechless. His focus, however, is clearly on the perception of sports inside the stadium. But what about the viewers at home?

This essay wants to take up Gumbrecht's reflections on the presence culture and asks: How did the media technology at the Olympic Games 1972 affect the "presence culture" of sports and the related physicality of the athletes? The guiding thesis is that the media technologies are an essential part of performativity in sports, which do not only support the visibility of the body, but also themselves influence its interpretations, emotional charging and perceptions. This article aims to show what happens to the presence of the body during TV broadcast. It also wants show how the media tries to establish this bodily presence and how the viewers could experience such presence on TV.

Thus, it is precisely the connection between visuality and mediality of physicality in sport which is at the core of this article. Markus Stauff rightly pointed out that in an analysis of visual media sports, it is central to always consider the mediality and media logic of the technology itself. Film, television, and photography are different media, which convey very different aspects of the body and thus also offer different possibilities of interpretation (Stauff 2014, 102). Thus, the article will concentrate on the logics and narratives of television at the 1972 Olympic Games and only add references to other mass media excursively to further contrast the results. Firstly, the article starts with an overview about television at the Olympic Games, leaving aside the hostage-crisis to focus on the sporting event itself. Secondly, it will ask what this array of media technology meant for the perception of the athlete's body by using the example of marathon running. The focus will be on the combination of media, emotions, and the body.

2. The DOZ: Media Array at the Munich Games

Within hours of the acceptance of the bid in Rome in 1966, the directors of the two West German TV networks ARD and ZDF conferred on the prerequisites for a global Olympic program, which in 1972 was to reach one billion people around the world. For 120 million marks the Organizing Committee of the 1972 Olympic Games finally established the "German Olympic Center Radio Television," named DOZ (Deutsches Olympia Zentrum).

The DOZ became a media hub for the Games in 1972. The system of the DOZ, which was planned and also created for the most part by the technology

corporation Siemens, required 1,500 technicians during the games. 150 electronic color television cameras, 80 video cameras, 27 color television broadcast vans, 85 image magnetic recording devices, 11 slow motion machines, 20 color film and slide scanners, 850 commentator devices, a sound space where 3,000 video and audio lines converged, 61 audio and 14 video frames, a monitor wall with 48 view screens were the technical equipment of the DOZ. With this equipment, a world program with a total of 13,470 minutes airtime was created. This live offering encompassed around 45 hours a day.

Out of this supply, the international television stations chose a fitting 14-hour program for their nation, which included competitions, summaries, studio interviews, and their own film productions. In order to obtain as neutral a picture as possible, some internationally experienced directors of foreign institutions had been deployed to the main stadiums. In addition to Germany and the UK, the US and Japan supplemented the array of video material provided by the DOZ with their own programs (Friedrich and Gehlfuß 2004, 24). Above all, the US network ABC had been granted to frame the games as well as the opening and closing ceremonies especially for its audience: the selection of commercials, choice of music or the installation of its own live or recorded material was within this station's decision-making power (Schüssel 2002, 669-70). But the organizers were also trying to take into account the national interests of viewers for other television stations as well. The preferences of individual countries in certain sporting disciplines and the continental time difference influenced the scheduling of competitions and the necessary live connections. The desire to offer a world-wide audience a chance to take part live in as many competitions as possible, required quite „strange start times."[3]

This already demonstrates the great role the needs of the media and especially of television played in the Games of 1972. Not only the athletic program, even individual points in the rigid arrangements of the opening ceremony were changed by the organizers in favor of the technical medium: For example, the canon salute was to happen before the rise of the pigeons, so that the firing would not frighten them and they would not disturb television's radar satellite. And even the architecture was shaped according to the media's conditions in Munich. The organizers were not only precisely planning the camera stands in the stadium interior. They themselves chose the covering of the Olympic roof for optimal camera conditions. One month before the opening ceremony, the Hamburg weekly magazine *Die Zeit* pointed out: "The floodlights with its 1,200 Lux may well benefit the color television cameras, but not the human eye, for which the brightness is too high."[4] The television cameras thus received preference over the eyes of stadium visitors and in turn influenced the

[3] Bericht über die Tätigkeiten der Deutschen Rundfunkanstalten bei den Olympischen Spielen 1972. In *HistArch BR, Sammlung Gerhard Bogner*, 1972-1974, Nr. SL/22.25, 53.

[4] Die Zeit, Olympia-Test mit Pannen, July 28, 1972, Nr. 30/1972.

perception of the event itself. On the side of the organizers, there was obviously a change in the importance of the different audiences after the Second World War. The focus on the media audience at the same time caused changes in space, which in turn influenced the viewers' perceptions in the ranks. Their sporting perceptions were subjected to the demands of the media in order to be able to offer the promised "more than Munich" to the media recipient.

The strong television orientation can be explained by the fact that a significant shift had taken place in the accreditation in favor of this medium. In total, 4,500 journalists came to the Bavarian capital. Of these, 1,896 were press reporters, 358 photographers, 502 from news agencies and 1,400 were TV journalists and technicians. When comparing these figures to the 1960 Olympics, a tenfold increase of the medium television becomes apparent.

Such a strong concentration on the medium of television by the organizers inevitably led to much resentment by the established press journalists. In 1972, the Bavarian Association of Journalists had complained about "the disadvantaging of press journalists in favor of radio and television, which has occurred particularly at the Olympic Games."[5] However, ARD and ZDF instead alleged that the writing colleagues had "a priori [been] in a counterattack position." They allegedly had always tried "to find errors and defects in the television festival."[6] But the head of the press office of the state government in the state chancellery, undersecretary Raimund Eberle, stubbornly fought back any allegations, stressing a "uniform informing of the representatives of all the mass media."[7]

This debate once again demonstrates the inter-media competition at media events such as the Olympic Games. Of course, the choice of medium for sport consumption depends on very different preferences. Each medium has its advantages and disadvantages. Television differs tremendously from the other information media press and radio in terms of the perception of sports: On television, viewers can immediately experience sports not only visually, but also through live circuits – which in turn makes television different from the medium of cinema. This brings us back to the beginning of the article and the knock-down argument for television in sports consumption: The aim of television was always to offer the already mentioned "more," not just a "more" of the event itself, but also "more" in comparison to its media competitors. It should be possible for the sports recipient to closely observe the athlete's body in the currently held competition, so just at the moment of execution. At the same time, it subjugated the act of sports to its own logics, temporal structures,

[5] Pressestelle der Bayerischen Staatsregierung an den Vorsitzenden des Bayerischen Journalistenverbandes Franz Schönhuber, October 9, 1972. In *Bay HStArch, StK, Nr. 14041*.

[6] Bericht über die Tätigkeiten der Deutschen Rundfunkanstalten bei den Olympischen Spielen 1972. In *HistArch BR, Sammlung Gerhard Bogner, 1972-1974, Nr. SL/22.25*, 111.

[7] Die Bayerische Staatskanzlei teilt mit, October 12, 1972. In *Bay HStArch, StK, Nr. 14041*.

and narrative modes. How this affects sport will now be explained in more detail in the second section using the example of the television coverage of the 1972 Olympic marathon.

3. The Athlete's Body in Sight: TV and the Competitions at the Olympic Games in 1972

Running and especially the marathon race are particularly suitable for an investigation of visual media sports. First, the marathon is an extremely performance-intensive and body-intensive sport. Even at the first Olympic Games in 1896, where the marathon race for men was introduced, physicians particularly expressed their doubts "whether one could be able to survive such a long-lasting strain at all" (Müllner 2009, 38). Because of such objections, the marathon was long proclaimed and justified as a genuinely male sport at the Olympic Games. Only in 1972 did the IOC decide to officially allow women to participate in this sport in the future. At the Olympic Games in 1984 the women's marathon took place for the first time. For this reason, however, until then we are dealing with the sole focus on the male performing body in the coverage (Müllner 2009, 38-9). It would be an interesting task to investigate if this concept of a physical overload for women in the marathon as well as the beginning change in gender attitudes were also framed. To what extent was the TV-suited staging of the marathon still for a long time only imaginable as a male combat narrative? Unfortunately, there is not enough source-based research yet to answer this question, which also addresses the interplay of media presentation and the media understanding of the IOC.

Secondly, in scholarly research this type of sport is understood as a seismograph for dealing with the body in Western industrial societies precisely because of its strong physicality. The constant references to the specific physical requirements of this sport led to the marathon being used in a special way for debates about the performance body. However, the significance and interpretations could change constantly. Georg Spitaler refers to the numerous political leaders who staged themselves as runners (Spitaler 2009, 67-8). In a similar connection, Eva Kreisky also mentions the male charge and, with a reference to Max Weber, states that the politician can be "sure of the reliability of the 'natural' body in demanding marathons [...], which one needs to be able to drill through thick boards in politics" (Kreisky 2009, 80).

Thirdly, the marathon plays a central role in the sporting events at the Olympic Games itself. Not infrequently, it is even attributed the role of a sporting highlight. For the host countries, this sporting competition also offers the opportunity to bring the television spectator as well as the spectators in the stadium into the own city as a sporting venue. The selection of the route is also a further possibility for representation and staging for the host country. It can

also create a very special atmosphere. Not by chance did the Olympic organizers of the Games in Rome in 1960 lead the runners and thus the spectators and TV cameras to the ancient sites of the city, while the marathon also took place in the evening and surrounded by torches. In Tokyo, the organizers complemented such historic city references by leading the route through the Metropolitan Expressway. At the Olympic Games in Munich, the organizers also combined historical sights, with a modern, but above all green, view of the city. The runners ran through various gardens and parks in Munich such as the Nymphenburg Palace Gardens, the Royal Deer Garden, the English Garden, the Luitpoldpark, and the Olympics Park. They passed the Isar and the Swabian creek, but they also crossed the city center with important sights and ran past the central squares of Munich, not least the ones of National Socialist resistance: the Königsplatz, Karolinenplatz, Odeonsplatz, Geschwister-Scholl-Platz, and the square of Munich's freedom (*Münchner Freiheit*).

For television, this mobility within an extended spatial setting in the sporting competition was a bit of a challenge. The international broadcasters had fought with the presentation of the marathon for a long time. Long distance runs were believed to be less popular with the audience and difficult for television coverage due to their complexity and long duration. It took quite a long time until the TV audience got familiarized with the TV narrative of the marathon. But what was true for the media recipients, did not apply to the spectators on site. Here the marathon was instead seen as "the most celebrated and closely watched of all Olympic events." And this is particularly well explained in the research by the fact that watching from the roadside allows another, partially physically much closer participation in the sports than the stadium ranks offer. Thus, the closeness of participation, the close views, and the own physicality were for a long time an argument for experiencing the marathon on site and thus a counter argument for participating through television. The question about the "more" that television had to offer the spectators at home as compensation was therefore significantly different and more problematic than in other sports competitions, which took place in a clearly manageable spatial and temporal setting. The risk of failure and of failing to transfer the fascination with the body in the "presence culture" of sports on the screen was therefore significantly higher in the case of the marathon.

But the new techniques since the 1960s enabled television to compensate its own shortcomings and to offer its viewers something that was denied to the spectators in the stadium or on the roadside. While following the whole race is hardly possible for the spectators on site, the different camera positions and especially the accompanying commentary allowed the viewers at home to experience this sport event in its entirety.

Furthermore, this was not only to happen as quickly, but also as physically close as possible. The marathon in Munich was not only the first to be transmitted live via satellite. In 1972, the runners were also accompanied by mobile

broadcasting vans, helicopters filmed them from above, and cameras that were attached to individual runners enabled a direct and proximal participation. In this regard, television had learned much from film. Already Leo de Laforque developed a Kinamo camera for Leni Riefenstahl's films about the Berlin Games of 1936, which was attached to the body of the marathon runner in a small basket in order to capture his perspective and his movements. In addition, at the 1972 Games the camera repeatedly took the perspective of the waiting audience on the roadside and therefore simulated the participation of the TV audience on site (ABC 1972, 00:07:30; 00:10:18; 00:11:43).

The commentators also repeatedly reminded the TV audience of its privileged and exclusive view. They described their own working techniques several times and made them apparent. Thereby, at the same time, television ruptured the immediate illusion of a suggested participation at the site. Hence, TV's mediality became self-referential and especially served as a reminder that the spectator perceived the marathon via a mass medium. Apart from the comments, the following five media techniques are proof of this: Firstly, the permanent inserts "Live via Satellite from Munich, Germany" (ABC 1972, 00:02:49; 00:10:44; 00:12:14). Secondly, the visualization of television itself during the marathon, such as the display of camera trucks, photographers at the side of the road, or the camera positions in the stadium (ABC 1972, 00:13:35; 00:15:47). This visual presence of the media technology in the television images provided the visual authentication to the verbal media reference (ABC 1972, 00:05:29-00:05:35). Thirdly, the explanations where cameras had been placed within the city space, so that the viewer at home could closely track the mobile competition in terms of time and space. For example, ABC's commentator McKay informed the viewers directly after the beginning of the marathon:

> This will not just be a case of seeing these runners when they leave and when they come back. We will be seeing them at various points along the route. In the Nymphenburg Palace Grounds. There you're looking from the tower down on this great scene in Munich. You see them mostly from the Königplatz downtown. And about less than thousand meters outside the stadium before they come and the crowd sees: Who is ahead? Who will win the marathon? (ABC 1972, 00:03:33-00:03:59)

Thus, the recipient in front of the TV screen was promised a considerable advance in knowledge compared to the recipient on site. Or fourthly the hints, where in the "screen" a certain runner would appear in the coming seconds (ABC 1972, 00:06:52 and thereafter). And fifth and last element, the helicopter sounds, while the spectator could take the perspective from the air on the race (ABC 1972, 00:11:30; 00:14:18). Such a form of the television referring to itself at the Games in 1972 differs strikingly from the medium of sports photography. Since the turn of the century, photographers on the contrary were eager to not be visible. The acceptance, actually the conscious emphasis on

one's own presence thus also demonstrates a self-assured legitimation of the medium of television itself.

Thus we are dealing not only with compensation for shortcomings, but with self-legitimation of the medium. Especially the knowledge that the marathon could be problematic for television broadcasting advanced the awareness to offer the viewer more. The television broadcasters changed and expanded the medial arrangement and thereby also continued their own legitimacy. However, this did not happen only on a technical but also on a journalistic, even a narrative level. In the following, I would like to concentrate on the coverage of the TV station ABC, thus exemplarily examining the American narrative of the marathon race in 1972 to show how television wanted to provide the spectator at home with a "more" of the sports contest. The selection of the U.S. coverage is based firstly on the fact that an American athlete won the competition, and secondly, that ABC, as one of few TV stations, was able to broadcast its own program to American households, which was adapted to its audience, away from the DOZ's recordings.

The U.S. TV station had chosen as commentators on the one hand sports columnist Jim McKay and on the other hand amateur marathon runner and former Yale professor of literature Erich Segal. Both gave the audience an assessment before the competition of who would be the favorites in the race. Thus, they gave the viewers at home expert assessments and information that was denied to most spectators in the stands. They served as a kind of masters of ceremony and led through the sports competition, explained the route, gave historical references and figures and both continuously stressed the medial advantages of the reception as well as the dominant technical array in Munich. During these explanations, the viewers could watch on screen the preparation of the athletes for the approaching contest. One finds a clear focus on the tense gestures of the participants, which was also repeatedly emphasized by the two experts on the microphone.

Already before the start, the clear focus of the coverage was on American athlete Frank Shorter, who was captured by the camera after less than a minute airtime. Thereby, television was already preparing the viewer at the beginning for the upcoming lead narrative. Image and sound corresponded in this narrative in a very self-assertive manner. "Here is your man," says Jim Mckay, and Eric Segal immediately adds that Frank Shorter is one of the great favorites of the competition. The TV pictures show the sportsman Shorter in a waiting state, a few minutes before the starting signal is supposed to take place. But the camera does not zoom in on his face and his tension in the same way that it does with the other participants. Instead, the viewer is placed in the position of an observer. He can accompany Shorter, who obviously seems to feel unobserved, with his eyes from some distance, sometimes even covered partly by other athletes (ABC 1972, 00:01:00-00:01:32).

Figure 1 & Figure 2: Focus on Frank Shorter

Stills from TV-Coverage. ABC, 1972 Olympics 40 years later, 00:01:20; 00:01:06.

When the race began, the camera perspective again took the frontal view, the runners ran towards the viewer, and only then a cut into the total view happens. Close shots of individual athletes, of the lead, and broad survey shots alternate repeatedly. Viewers were seeing the marathon runners and the movements of legs (i.e., the essence of a marathon) mostly in total view so that they were focused on the whole event. The zoom was showing the athletes' faces and then focused on their upper bodies and arm movements. The facial expression was obviously an important information that was, in addition, not visible for the viewers in the stadium. These images are complemented by a total view from above, filmed from helicopters, which capture the stadium and its masses. The sporting event is thus offered to the viewer from multiple angles and presented in a perfect television narrative. But at the same time, the television also structured the viewer's sight through such cuts and close-up shots.

The U.S. favorite Frank Shorter also became the protagonist of the marathon on a visual level. Both commentators, the camera, and thus the American audience accompany him throughout the whole competition (ABC 1972, 00:15:00). The permanent insertion of his name as well as the capital letters U.S.A. in the

caption of the screen once again reinforced the emphasis of the narrative on his person. His struggle became the master narrative, which was spiked with occasional dramatic highlights. Such a narrative of the sporting competition not only gave the TV pictures their own structure, but also provided the viewer with a further form of the promised "more." The personalized focus on Shorter created its own form of tension and at the same time adapted itself to the viewing habits of the audience created by other television formats.

Thus, television increased the general tension and directed the television images to the final as the ending point. Therefore, it did not simply depict the time structure of the sporting competition. Rather, a special "adjustment of time" in the sense of Michel Foucault or a targeted staging of a "criminal plot" in sports television in the sense of Otto Penz took place (Penz 2009, 105). This division into time sections also enhanced the concentration on the increasing performance of the athlete's body, which was expressed not least by incorporating opponents and competitors. While Shorter was promised great chances from the outset by McKay and Segal, they also repeatedly referred to Lutz Philipp, Karl Lismont, Fernando Molina, or Mamo Wolde, who could always jeopardize Shorter's victory.

Penz calls such a technique of television a generation of hyperreality by enriching the transmission of the sporting competition "through enriching the (linear) reality with additional experience values." Precisely in the technique of concentrating on one sporting hero, he sees the expression of "predominant western values such as individualism, performance orientation, or assertiveness" (Penz 2009, 107). The body also became an expression medium of inner moral quality within the ABC television narrative. The moderators did not only introduce spectators at home to Shorter's sporting performances, which were always characterized by fairness. They also emphasized his family background, explicitly even his father, the physician Samuel Shorter and his achievements in the Second World War as well as Shorter's legal training at the universities Yale and Florida. It is interesting to note that the images provide a sort of understatement of the sportsman Shorter himself during these verbal praises. They show him, as already mentioned above, rather hidden, or in the panorama with other runners in the lead, which are ruptured only by individual medial zooms (ABC 1972, 00:02:29).

Figure 3, 4 and 5: Different Angles on the Marathon

Stills from TV-Coverage. ABC, 1972 Munich Olympics 40 years later, 00:02:13; 00:02:21; 00:02:34.

This correlation of body and character was, not least, already a common narrative of the early 18th century and body control was a classic element of bourgeois heroic stories (Schilling 1999, 126). The emphasis on masculinity played a central role in this context, as well as in the case of our protagonist Shorter. Not only Shorter's considerable height corresponds to this narrative and also offers visual confirmation through the contrast to other participants. Also his tension, the physical posture, the constant concentration in his eyes (ABC 1972, 00:10:00) are just as much a part of the narrative as is Segal's comment: "This man earned all by himself" (ABC 1972, 00:16:02), he had the "smell of victory" (ABC 1972, 00:16:26). Both commentators gave him a considerable amount of room for maneuver on his success, especially at the end: Frank

Shorter had run the race just as he himself wanted to run (ABC 1972, 00:16:39). He is presented as a man of decision and inner strength.

Figure 6: Cover of Life Magazine, September 1972

The cover picture of the Life Magazine from September 1972 also suggests exactly this narrative: a cheerful but determined Shorter, who is running towards victory unaffected, alone on the track, no competition, behind him only blurred images of the audience. The title "The Haywire Olympics. Can they be fixed by '76?" focusing instead on the theme of failure, causes a strange correspondence with the title picture and its narrative (Life Magazine 1972).

At the same time, the American television narrative about the protagonist Shorter made it possible to create a kind of emotional relationship between sporting hero and spectator. Allen Guttman speaks of an identification, a representation of the self and the other ("Representing the Self and the Other" Guttmann 2009, 73-5). Jim McKay creates such an identification with our sports hero Shorter not least by the permanent direct and personal address with the first name Frank and by his personal biographical contextualization (ABC 1972, 00:04:12). At the end of the race, the viewer might have felt like really knowing Shorter; and knowing him from childhood to the present emotional inner life. Guttmann also points out that this identification can, of course, be charged quite differently due to the transnational reception of the sporting competition and can be subjected to a national logic (Papa 2009, 79). A sports event does not only have *one* audience, and there is also not one single, universal image of the event. On the contrary, it is characteristic that different specta-

tor groups devote their attention to the same event, but do not perceive it in the same way (Großklaus 2004; Rothenbuhler 1998, 1995).

This shows how central it was for ABC to align their lead narrative about the American sports hero Shorter with their own pictures and comments. McKay repeatedly calls him "our man," or "America's last two hopes for an individual gold medal today" (ABC 1972, 00:03:02-00:03:15). In fact, the U.S.A. had not won a gold medal in the marathon for more than half a century, with the last victory dating from 1908. McKay thus suggested that Shorter's victory would also be a national success and offers identification propositions for his national audience in the U.S.A.

Figure 7: Close-Up of Shorter's Face

Still from TV-Coverage. ABC, 1972 Munich Olympics 40 years later, 00:18:44.

The strong connection between spectators and athlete is also made possible by a close observation of the movements and emotions. This became particularly clear at the end of the marathon. Before Frank Shorter pulled into the stadium, a non-registered runner with the number 72 appeared on the race track. Security forces immediately removed him and as Shorter entered the stadium, the audience was still whistling and booing. ABC's commentators focused on Shorter's state of mind, the camera filmed directly in his face, his irritation was obvious. Eric Segal stressed several times: "Look at his face." This was not possible for the audience in the stands. The emotional state became a clear reporting subject and received almost preferable treatment over the coverage of the rest of the competition. The medial setting and the television narrative merge and thus offer the viewer at home the possibility to take part in the emotional "more" of the sporting event.

4. Athletes as Individuals

This also hints at something that suggests a general new development in sports coverage in the 1970s. If one compares the television images of the sports competitions at the Olympic Games since the introduction of the medium television two things become obvious: First, the athlete was no longer only stylized as a powerful body. And he was not only awarded political symbolism as "diplomat in tracksuit," like research about sports in the era of the Cold War continually emphasizes (Balbier 2005). At the end of the 1960s, the sports coverage also drew more attention to the athletes as individuals (Gajek 2013, 409-10). As with Shorter we find a lot of television images at the 1972 Olympics that focused on the emotions of the athlete. With total and close-up views, television often used the conventions and techniques of the cinema in order to show and create emotions. Not only was the power of the body visualized through this, but also that which this power required and affected. The viewer was drawn closer to the "physical experience" or bodily experience. One way to put it is that the presence of the body was put behind the emotions and the physical presence. Arguably, feelings and emotions adjusted rather to the logic of TV broadcasting than to physical presence and muscle flexing. At the same time, this focus on gestures and facial expressions offered the viewers what there were promised: a plus compared to simply being present at the stadium.

Added to the emotionality was, secondly, the perspective of the loser more present than before. Aside from athletic body images, the television narrative of 1972 provides us with the problematization of performance limits. Pictures of exhausted, gasping and panting athletes can be found in strikingly large numbers at the Olympics in 1972. The camera also delivers images that do not only show the outer movements, the muscle game. In numerous contests at the Munich Games, the camera director focused on the internal struggles of the athletes, their gestures, facial expressions, the tension in their faces, the tears after the defeat. And also the marathon at the Olympic Games 1972 does not only end with Forster's victory and his subsequent joy. While Forster as the winner is indeed allowed to look dazzling – hardly a drop of sweat could be captured by the camera (ABC 1972, 00:16:20: "Frank Shorter looks like he always looks; jogging along this Street, no sweat, no sweat.") – the other athletes are shown panting. The commentators emphasize what a huge effort this marathon was and that only 62 out of 74 athletes had reached the finish line. Thus, they do not only emphasize the performance of their hero, but also open up the panorama of the sporting competition to those who were not as victorious. This reveals another form of the "more," which television offered the viewers at home. Television drew a new line, deciding what belonged to sports and the sports competition. Apart from the outcome, the final, the win, it now showed what was also part of sports: the effects of the sports competition

shown just before, be it the physical exhaustion after the competition or the tears of the losers.

Figure 8: Jim Ryun. Photograph Taken from Life Magazine, Moments in a Mad Olympics, September 22, 1972, 30.

Emotions, physical-emotional, psychosomatic impulses and the pressure to perform are the central topics in the media coverage of the Olympic Games in 1972. In the West German press there were many reports about the failures and suffering of athletes, who despaired at ever increasing demands and who could no longer withstand the immense pressure.[8] For example, the FAZ *(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung)* reported about cyclists Hans Michalsky, who suffered a nervous breakdown and was crying convulsively (FAZ 1972a; Die Zeit 1972). Or the torchbearer, Günther Zahn, who was left behind "squeezed out and trembling" after many interviews (FAZ 1972b). Such insights into the athletes' minds can also be found in the American press. The Life Magazine speaks of "triumph and upset," of "all kinds of goofups" and the first page of the title story shows a large picture of Jim Ryun, whose "comeback ended in a sprawl" [Figure 8]. The photographer John Domins shows the sportsman sitting on the ground frustrated and exhausted. His face is in the dark, the observer cannot recognize gestures, but the darkness carries an emotional attitude of resignation and introversion after the lost competition.

Such discussions are reminiscent of discourses during the Weimar Republic, in which the body and its performance were critically questioned and even

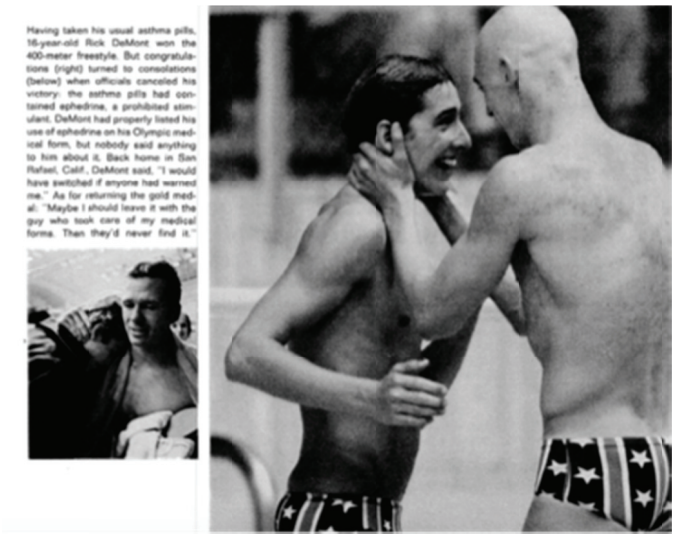
[8] For example, the FAZ reported about a Ugandan Boxer, who could only be kept calm with sleeping pills: FAZ 1972b; see also the many printed pictures of unsuccessful athletes. For example the picture of the Mexican contestant Garcia after the lost deciding match for the participation in the Olympic basketball contest: FAZ 1972a.

staged as a "vision of deterioration" (Cowan 2015, 13; Mackenzie 2015) in the media. Even after the First World War, the discussion was about the limits of performance increases. In the image of the body as a machine, this discussion found its fitting expression. Kai Marcel Sicks and Michael Cowan point out that critical debates about the body can be found in mass media since the 18th century. However, the phases in which this was an issue each have a specific imagination. This also applies to the discussions in the 1970s. The athlete's body and its perceptions changed during this time from the ideal to the abnormal performance body. The previously applicable categories of efficiency and energy became negative notions, which were strongly charged by society. There was almost a "redefinition of physical identity" (Cowan 2015, 15). And the mass media as an actor played a role in this process that should not be underestimated.

The fight against doping certainly impacted this new perspective on the athlete's body. In the postwar period, many athletes resorted to performance-enhancing drugs due to the increasing demands of the masses, markets and political power (Gajek 2016). Parallel to the widespread use, an active anti-doping movement emerged. It understood the limits of human performance no longer only as a fascination, but voiced central concerns. The media played an ambivalent role in this process. On the one hand, they reinforced performance requirements through media attention and commercialization. But on the other hand, throughout the sixties and the seventies they increasingly grappled with the body's limitations. They became agents of a knowledge transfer, who re-edited the knowledge about the body and its boundaries by means of numbers and historical references and interpreted it for the recipients.

Television took a very special position in this process. Because, aside from factual knowledge, the visual medium enabled the spectator at home to intensively observe the athlete's body under pressure. And this observation was intensive not only because of physical proximity, but also because of the extended broadcasting time. The camera could accompany the athletes much longer and more intensively than during the games in the first postwar years. The tension at the beginning and the subsequent joy or disappointment thus provided the framework for the contest coverage. This framing can be seen very nicely in the competition pictures of the women's high jump at the 1972 Games. Here, the camera gives us a dialogical narrative between the competitors Ulrike Meyfarth (Germany) and Austrian contestant Ilona Gusenbauer. Meyfarth's joy and her cheers after her victory are complemented by scenes that show Gusenbauer sitting on the ground, self-absorbed, her face hidden in a towel. The commentator points out that while it is most likely the most important day of her life for the 16 year old Meyfarth, for Gusenbauer and the Bulgarian contestant Yordanka Blagoeva it is probably one of the worst. Text and image correspond to the narrative of the performance body in crisis.

Figure 9: Winning and Losing. Media Ensemble from Life Magazine, *Champion by a Split Second, Loser by a Pill*, September 22, 1972, 38.



Such juxtapositions of winning and losing in the reporting of 1972 can also be found in the press and its pictures again and again. The Life Magazine, for example, printed in its article about the sport contests not only a picture of Rick DeMont after his victory, but also after the IOC nullified the same because of doping (Life Magazine 09/1972, 38). Thus, it even combined success and failure in one person. By concentrating on the subject of doping in the article, the U.S.-American magazine also opened up the scope for interpretation of emotions in sport: performance pressure, the pressure to succeed, and the fear of failure showed the inner struggle of the athlete apart from proclaimed performance ideas. The "more," which TV and press offered the viewers and readers here, thus not only concentrated on a clear focus on physical impulses, but also on an internal perspective of the athletes' body. From this panoramic view of the athlete, the media increasingly acquired its legitimacy.

5. Conclusion

Munich 1972 was to offer the viewer at home the "total television." The required media array firstly changed the event on site. The organizers increasingly aligned themselves with the needs of TV-creators. The architecture, opening ceremony, as well as the course of the sports competitions were considerably adapted to the work methods of television. Secondly, the presence of television also changed the perception of sports. In order to compensate for the live at-

mosphere, television used technology for its own legitimation. Thereby, the observation of the body became a decisive argument. At the same time, television enabled viewers to not only observe the athletes' gestures and movements, but to also observe their emotions much more intensively. This opened up a much wider horizon for interpretations of the athletes' body in the 1970s. Questions about performance limits, failure, and performance pressure broadened the previous discussion and dealt with the athletes' body as a performance body in a new mode.

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ABC, 1972 Olympic Marathon: Munich, available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z4NV4_5Wkic>, 00:05:34 and thereafter, (Accessed May 6, 2017).

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Historical Social Research
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All articles published in HSR Special Issue 43 (2018) 2:
Visualities – Sports, Bodies, and Visual Sources.